10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

but the Government has never paid me anything. I object to this. God gave the earth to all men, and we should not have to pay anyone for the right to own a piece of it. He also made people to defend themselves and their rights. But it is difficult to find out where to go to defend our rights or to find out who is to blame. At present they say the Communists are in power and are to blame; before that they used to say it was the strong trying to defeat the weak."

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE

The Araucanians are an agricultural and grazing people. Ownership of land was institutional. Land owned lay within one's witran mapu—a witran mapu being a specific area occupied by a particular kunpém—that is, a group of families. Within the witran mapu each family laid claim to ownership of pieces of land which it cultivated and to others which it used as grazing land. Portions of land so owned by a family were apportioned by the father to each of his sons, as each one married; these in turn gave of their land to their children; and so on. It is because of this division of land that in time all families in an area were at least distantly related.

All recognized the right of a person to the ownership of lands claimed by him if he erected on it a ruka and also either cultivated the land or used it for grazing his cattle, or, if it was wooded, cleared it of forests. In general, ruka were some distances apart; only occasionally were two or three close together. As previously stated, there were no villages.

The ownership of lands was recorded on charts which were—and still are—kept in the possession of the cacique. It was the cacique's duty to see that there was equity in the distribution of land. In fact, he had the right to transfer to someone in need—if this person was a member of the witran mapu—land from someone who possessed more than it was thought he needed or who laid claim to more than the assembled fathers of families thought he ought to claim. This is no longer a matter of the cacique's jurisdiction, "now that we are under Chilean law."

Land owned by families today is marked off by fences or by natural boundaries, such as creeks, rivers, ravines and forests.

Land in the witran mapu not claimed by any individual was owned in common by the kunpém—a custom which still exists among the Araucanians, but which is causing unrest among politically-minded Chileans who are of the opinion that such lands should be on the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche* [1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague political abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation) rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly concerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

[1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *ñillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.